/100 cont./

241 462 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man [249] would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The [437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function •[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the 224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow 223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a [177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products hrough the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
• 262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fish-hook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] [753] [178] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

[262] The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the [241] clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] [262] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance. * [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however, [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the choco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

273 The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/211 cont./

291 of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to
*[192] a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centi-
178 meters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which
535 the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are
531 even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they
*[192] have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima)
178 his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses
• 262 it every /212/ days of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

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•262 *[192] 1) The flour. The flour, po'ká, is an indispensable food, not only for the natives of all the tribes of the Uaupés, but also for the caboclos of the Rio Negro. Without the flour, not only would the most varied and nourishing repast seem deficient to them, but they would not endure any nutritional regimen uninterruptedly without flour.

*192 252 For the making of the so-called "farinha dágua" /water flour/, they use the "mandioca puba," ki-bó. That is, the roots are submerged in water (sometimes in a canoe or in some submerged hamper, or even camotim) for about six days, until they show the beginning of fermentation or putrefaction, with an unpleasant odor. Through simple pressure between the fingers, the mass comes loose, the bark remaining almost whole.

The mass, ki-õ'tá, after it is squeezed by hand in a strainer of fine mesh, tõ-pa, placed on top of a camotim that collects the liquid, yõxká, is introduced into the tipití. After this is full, it is suspended on a support by the upper handle. Into the lower handle the woman inserts a rounded stick about two meters long, serving as a lever, this remaining immobilized by one of its ends against the support, and upon the other the woman will exert pressure with her arms or even by sitting on top of it. With the weight of the body itself and with adequate movement, the tipití is stretched, which thus compresses the mass and forces out the liquid, which is then carefully collected in a vessel.

There are three ways of immobilizing the end of the lever: 1st) by means of a ring of cipo, õ'tá buhuri-be'tó, which embraces the support; or 2nd) the support is equipped with orifices, õ'tá buhurí-pé, and the end of the lever is successively fixed in the various orifices as the tipití stretches; or 3rd) the support is cut like the teeth of a saw, õ'tá buhú-yeheró, on which leans the shorter end of the lever. Among the Arwake /Arawak/ of the rivers Içana and Aiarí, we observed the preference for this last process, and in a very practical way. That is, they would plant solidly in the ground a rounded stake, a meter or a little more in height and about 10 centimeters in

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. 262 The principal animals that serve them as food are (49):

231

> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

[171]

/218 cont./
*192
• 262
monkeys of various species (axké, emõá, guariba, sẽi, aimoré, waú, uáia-piçá)
boxsó, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águti)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpí, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nãmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species: pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)

Among the birds, they most frequently eat:

ahã, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpí, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubí)

235
262
[439]
They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

4t Silva--319 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

235 /219 cont./
• 262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

178

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

/219 cont./

*192 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

• 262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fiõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender
252 leaves of mandioca (see above, manicóba). Sometimes, too,
263 they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera
263 fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some
178 cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797]
[439]

/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 252 • 262 [881] 1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyãrã (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

*192 /221 cont./
222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
• 262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tĩ (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹ, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

/222 cont./

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262

3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyá, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called úkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã̄. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõã́.

d) A crab, sã̄'ã̄, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
• 262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pouróuma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
[273] mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñierẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 222 • 262 252 Assaí, pataúá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This, after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 252 262 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a farinaceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/ They like them so much that during this time they abstain from other foods. 245 Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in 251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink, 273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rɛ̃-kó.

*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 252 262 *[192] 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexkã-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

[192]

• 262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

[273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

[462]

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ɨ'rɨ̃ nõ'myá (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõ̃-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã̃ wimã̃rá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahɨ̃, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

• 262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1)) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peomĩ kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wĩhĩõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
• [262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwĩ-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõ̃ñá Wĩhĩõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

> 81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water). T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

T
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

M
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a paje, of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where some civilized person was buried.

T
756
775
829

g) The cult of the dead.

T
621 As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/443 cont./

562
881
[302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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From *Kíwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake. Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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He brings home the hide for a trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son — an aspirant for the position — killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

GARDENING

I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

An important distinction between the labor of men and women is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

On days when only subsistence manioc — that is, the manioc cake — is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time, leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast. Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is

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592 554 [493] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo, waiwari, mod, pudjú, kandka,* and *kabéka.* In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihlbo*), banana (*djwdye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*halidmu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butel*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahikiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
• 262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
261 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as
264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
[183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
[614] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

364 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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843
826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians.

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kũrũdjũ*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

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846 789 • 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjũ*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokũ* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokũ*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhékükükũ* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhékükükũ* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[1] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákũ* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[1] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low
[262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some
[855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of
[857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in
[226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

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early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas.

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit.

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies.

ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [See p. 70-B]